

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY RABAT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 100364

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MO

SUBJECT: PROJECTED AUDIENCE WITH KING HASSAN

REF: RABAT 2130

1. FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS ON SUBJECTS YOU MIGHT DISCUSS WITH KING DURING BROAD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN NEAR IFUTURE. INFO ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE, AND PARTICULARLY ON LEBANON, MAY OBVIOUSLY BE OUT OF DATE BEFORE TOO LONG.

2. MIDDLE EAST PEACE

A. ROY ATHERTON BROUGHT HIS MAJESTY UP TO DATE IN THEIR MARCH 1 DISCUSSION. SUBSEQUENTLY, OUR EFFORTS LOOKING TOWARD NEGOTIATION OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT TURNED TO THE EXPLORATION OF A CONCEPT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT PUT FORWARD FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF AN END OF THE STATE OF WAR. THIS

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CONCEPT WAS APPROVED BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FOLLOWING

OUR URGING DURING RABIN'S VISIT HERE THAT ISRAEL NEEDED TO TAKE SOME INITIATIVE AND NOT PERMIT THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION TO REMAIN FROZEN. IT WOULD INVOLVE AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL, ON ALL THREE FRONTS, BY WHICH ISRAEL WOULD RETURN SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF OCCUPIED TERRITORY IN EXCHANGE FOR COMMITMENT BY THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS

TO END THE STATE OF WAR AS A FURTHER STEP TOWARD PEACE. THERE HAS BEEN NO ATTEMPT TO DEFINE EITHER ELEMENT IN THIS EXCHANGE, THE POINT BEING NOW TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE CONCEPT ITSELF OFFERS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION.

B. AMBASSADOR EILTS WAS CALLED BACK TO WASHINGTON MARCH 5 AND DISCUSSED THE CONCEPT WITH PRESIDENT SADAT AND FAHMY ON HIS RETURN TO CAIRO. OUR EXCHANGES WITH THE EGYPTIANS ON THE MATTER HAVE REACHED NO RPT NO DEFINITIVE CONCLUSIONS. WE THEN DISCUSSED IT WITH KING HUSSEIN WHEN HE WAS IN WASHINGTON IN LATE MARCH. HIS REACTION MAINLY RELATED TO THE JORDANIAN ROLE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE RABAT SUMMIT, WHICH HE CONSIDERS HAS LEFT HIM NO LONGER FREE TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE WEST BANK. AMBASSADOR MURPHY HAS BEEN BACK IN WASHINGTON ON CONSULTATION ABOUT THIS QUESTION AS WELL, BUT GIVEN THE INTENSE SYRIAN PREOCCUPATION WITH THE LEBANESE PROBLEM WE HAVE NOT YET SOUGHT TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH THEM.

C. WE CONTINUE TO BE CONVINCED THAT SOME MOVEMENT IS NECESSARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THIS YEAR. FOR REASONS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPLAINED TO HIS MAJESTY, THE PLO ISSUE POSES SUCH A SERIOUS BAR TO PROGRESS THAT WE HAVE SOUGHT A WAY TO MOVE AHEAD THIS YEAR WITHOUT HAVING TO CONFRONT THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE AT THE OUTSET. THE CONCEPT WE ARE EXPLORING SEEMS TO OFFER SUCH A POSSIBILITY. MEANWHILE, EVEN WITH A MINIMUM OF MOVEMENT, IT WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO PREPARE THE GROUND PROPERLY FOR A MORE CONCERTED EFFORT LATER. IT WILL BE CRITICAL IN THIS RESPECT THAT THE ARABS NOT ENGAGE IN MANEUVERS THAT WILL SERVE ONLY TO INCREASE THE GAP BETWEEN THEM AND THE ISRAELIS AND TO ERODE THE SUPPORT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT NEEDS AMONG THE AMERICAN PUBLIC FOR A VIGOROUS MIDDLE EAST POLICY.

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ATTEMPTS TO EXPEL ISRAEL FROM THE UN WOULD BE EXTREMELY DAMAGING IN THIS SENSE, FOR EXAMPLE. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT KING HASSAN, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING HE HAS ALWAYS SHOWN FOR OUR MIDDLE EAST EFFORTS, WILL DO EVERYTHING HE CAN TO ENCOURAGE MODERATION AMONG THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS.

3. LEBANON

A. DURING RECENT WEEKS LEBANON HAS PREOCCUPIED US. OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERN HAS BEEN THAT UNCONTROLLED COMMUNAL FIGHTING WOULD BRING LARGE-SCALE MILITARY INTERVENTION BY SYRIA AND ISRAEL, RESULTING IN ANOTHER MIDDLE EAST WAR. THE PRESIDENT SENT AMBASSADOR DEAN BROWN TO BEIRUT MARCH 30 TO BE IN TOUCH WITH THE VARIOUS LEBANESE FACTIONS AND TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO BRING THEM TOGETHER IN SUPPORT OF A CEASE-FIRE AND A REASONABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE HAVE SEEN

OUR EFFORTS, IN PARTICULAR THOSE OF AMBASSADOR BROWN, AS PARALLELING THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SYRIANS IN LEBANON. DAMASCUS HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN A CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICAL EFFORT TO GET AGREEMENT AMONG THE LEBANESE ON A CEASEFIRE, CERTAIN NECESSARY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT, AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS THAT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INCREASE IN THE MOSLEM PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION AS WELL AS THE NEED FOR GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE.

B. WHILE WE HAVE SUPPORTED SYRIAN POLITICAL EFFORTS, WE HAVE STRONGLY URGED BOTH THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS TO REFRAIN FROM MILITARY INTERVENTION. IN FACT, THE SYRIANS HAVE INTRODUCED SOME LIMITED FORCE, FOR THE MOST PART OPERATING THROUGH PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS THAT THEY CONTROL, IN AN EFFORT TO PROVIDE SOME INTERNAL SECURITY FORCE. WITH THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LEBANESE ARMY AND SECURITY FORCE, THERE HAS BEEN NO INSTRUMENT TO PROVIDE EVEN A SEMBLANCE OF GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY AMONG THE WARRING FACTIONS.

C. THE ROAD AHEAD FOR LEBANON IS GOING TO BE VERY DIFFICULT AT BEST, AND A NEW PRESIDENT WILL FIND HIMSELF WITH SEVERE CHALLENGES TO MEET AND LITTLE IN THE WAY OF  
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GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS OR AUTHORITY TO MEET THEM. DURING THIS PERIOD, THE FRIENDS OF LEBANON SHOULD DO ALL THEY CAN TO ENCOURAGE THE LEBANESE FACTIONS TO COOPERATE IN THEIR COMMON INTEREST.

4. OTHER SUBJECTS YOU MAY EITHER WISH TO TAKE UP OR BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS IF KING RAISES THEM ARE: THE SECRETARY'S CURRENT VISIT TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA; EVOLUTION OF SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA; FUTURE VISITS TO MOROCCO BY U.S. NUCLEAR-POWERED WARSHIPS; STATUS OF ARMS TRANSFERS FROM THIRD COUNTRIES. FOLLOWING IS YOUR GUIDANCE ON THESE TOPICS.

5. SAHARA: THERE APPEARS TO CONTINUE TO BE A WIDESPREAD FEELING IN MANY QUARTERS, EVEN THOSE BASICALLY SYMPATHETIC

TO MOROCCO ON THIS ISSUE, THAT SOME WAY SHOULD AND CAN BE DEVISED TO COUNTER ALLEGATIONS THAT INSUFFICIENT ACCOUNT HAS BEEN TAKEN OF THE DESIRES OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLES. HAS HIS MAJESTY HAD ANY FURTHER THOUGHTS ABOUT SOME KIND OF "ELEGANT" POLITICAL SOLUTION IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION MR. ATHERTON POSED ON THE SECRETARY'S BEHALF IN MARCH? (RABAT 1227). NOTING AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOM AND GIRM FOR PARTITION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA, AND RECENT REPORTS THAT LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS PROBABLY WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR, YOU MIGHT IF YOU DEEM IT APPROPRIATE INQUIRE WHETHER

GOM INTENDS TO EXTEND FRANCHISE TO INHABITANTS OF PORTION OF WESTERN SAHARA WHICH HAS BEEN INTEGRATED INTO MOROCCO.

6. SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: DURING THE SECRETARY'S APRIL 21 MEETING WITH THE OAU AMBASSADORS ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR A 13-DAY SEVEN NATION (KENYA, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, ZAIRE, GHANA, LIBERIA AND SENEGAL) TRIP TO AFRICA HE EMPHASIZED:

-- THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT IS TO BRING HOME TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND TO DEAL, IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION, WITH PROBLEMS THAT ARE OF MAJOR CONCERN TO AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

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-- THE TRIP IS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS.

-- HE WILL PUT THE UNITED STATES BEHIND AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS FOR MAJORITY RULE AND BEGIN WORKING OUT A PROGRAM TO ACHIEVE IT.

-- HIS ATTENDANCE AT UNCTAD UNDERLINES THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE U.S. ATTACHES TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF AFRICA.

7. NUCLEAR-POWERED WARSHIP VISITS (REF. STATE 85297, 8 APRIL 1976): WE WERE VERY MUCH PLEASED WITH THE SUCCESSFUL VISIT BY THE NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINE, SEA DEVIL, TO SAFI MARCH 20-23 AND GRATEFUL FOR THE RECEPTION EXTENDED TO THE SHIP AND CREW BY LOCAL OFFICIALS AND TOWNSPEOPLE. WE HOPE TO AVAIL OURSELVES AGAIN OF THE PERMISSION WHICH YOUR MAJESTY SO KINDLY GRANTED FOR OUR NUCLEAR-POWERED VESSELS TO CALL AT MOROCCAN PORTS AND SHALL BE IN TOUCH WITH APPROPRIATE GOM OFFICIALS CONCERNING SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS.

8. ARMS TRANSFERS FROM THIRD COUNTRIES: AFTER SOME PROCEDURAL DELAYS, WE ARE MOVING AHEAD WITH THE FACILITATION OF TRANSFERS OF MATERIEL FROM JORDAN AND IRAN. ON MARCH 26, OUR EMBASSY IN AMMAN NOTIFIED THE GOJ THAT THE USG HAD CONSENTED TO THE TRANSFER OF 36 155 MM RECOILLESS RIFLES. NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS OF INTENT TO TRANSFER 20 F-5A'S FROM JORDAN TO MOROCCO, HELD UP DURING THE EASTER RECESS, IS NOW BEING PROCESSED AND OUR FINAL CONSENT SHOULD BE FORTHCOMING SHORTLY. MINOR PROBLAMS ON THE TRANSFER OF ONE OF THE SIX PLANES AND OF THE HOWITZERS FROM IRAN VIA JORDAN ARE BEING WORKED OUT. WE HAVE BEEN

COOPERATING CLOSELY WITH COL. KABBAJ ON THESE TRANSFERS AND HAVE KEPT HIM ADVISED OF THEIR STATUS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO UNTIL THE OPERATION IS COMPLETED. EAGLEBURGER

NOTE BY OC/T: STATE 100364 DOWNGRADED FROM NODIS TO EXDIS PER STATE 101858.

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